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# Security Council

Sixty-first year

*Provisional*

**5519**th meeting

Thursday, 31 August 2006, 10 a.m.

New York

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| *President:* | Nana Effah-Apenteng | (Ghana) |
| *Members:* | Argentina | Mr. Mayoral |
| | China | Mr. Wang Guangya |
| | Congo | Mr. Ikouebe |
| | Denmark | Mr. Faaborg-Andersen |
| | France | Mr. Lacroix |
| | Greece | Mr. Vassilakis |
| | Japan | Mr. Oshima |
| | Peru | Mr. Gallardo |
| | Qatar | Mr. Al-Bader |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Churkin |
| | Slovakia | Mr. Burian |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Ms. Pierce |
| | United Republic of Tanzania | Mr. Mahiga |
| | United States of America | Mr. Bolton |

## Agenda

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

Report of the Secretary-General on Darfur (S/2006/591)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

06-48422 (E)

*The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan**

**Report of the Secretary-General on Darfur (S/2006/591)**

**The President**: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Sudan in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration of the item without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Manis (Sudan) took a seat at the Council table.*

**The President**: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2006/591 and addendum 1, containing the report of the Secretary-General on Darfur.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2006/699, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Denmark, France, Ghana, Greece, Slovakia, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United Republic of Tanzania and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:*

Argentina, Congo, Denmark, France, Ghana, Greece, Japan, Peru, Slovakia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

*Against:*

None

*Abstaining:*

China, Qatar, Russian Federation

**The President**: The result of the voting is as follows: 12 in favour, none against and 3 abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 1706 (2006).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council wishing to make statements following the voting.

**Mr. Bolton** (United States of America): We are pleased that the Security Council has taken this important step in adopting resolution 1706 (2006). It is imperative that we move immediately to implement it fully to stop the tragic events unfolding in Darfur. Every day we delay only adds to the suffering of the Sudanese people and extends the genocide.

The United States calls on the Government of the Sudan to comply with the terms of resolution 1706 (2006). We expect its full and unconditional cooperation and support for the new United Nations peacekeeping force. Failure on the part of the Government of the Sudan to do so will significantly undermine the Darfur Peace Agreement and prolong the humanitarian crisis in Darfur.

Resolution 1706 (2006) sets the foundation for an effective multidimensional international force. With the expansion of the force up to 17,000 military personnel and more than 3,000 civilian police, we can now expect that the AMIS re-hatting will take place rapidly and smoothly and that the follow-on United Nations force will be fully operational, with a substantial African element at its core.

Significant planning and logistical work has already taken place. Now, with the adoption of this resolution, we can begin finalizing those details as we prepare to deploy the force. The United States is ready to assist immediately in that regard. We cannot afford to delay.

The Security Council upheld its responsibility and adopted a strong resolution which offers the best hope to bolster the Darfur Peace Agreement and end the tragedy we are witnessing in Darfur. We must now

devote all of our energies to securing its immediate and full implementation.

**Ms. Pierce** (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom greatly welcomes the adoption of resolution 1706 (2006) by the Council today. The United Kingdom had the honour to introduce the draft resolution to the Council as one of the co-sponsors.

The crisis in Darfur, which should never have started, has gone on far too long. Over the past three years, 2 million people have been displaced and 200,000 have been killed. After months of negotiations, a peace deal — the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) — was finally signed in April this year. Three months ago, the Council met at the foreign-minister level to welcome this and to look ahead to a brighter future for the people of Darfur.

It is a great tragedy that that brighter future is not materializing and that things, rather, have got worse, not better. Violence against civilians and humanitarian workers has increased. July was the worst month for attacks on humanitarian workers, with nine deaths. To date, humanitarian organizations have had to cut back their activities, with many considering pulling out of Darfur altogether. Much of the population is without basic food and health services. There are more gender-based acts of violence and robberies, and 50,000 new internally displaced persons have been created in the last few weeks alone. As a result, the DPA is under increasing strain and in real danger of collapsing. As the United States Permanent Representative said, we cannot afford to delay any longer. Already today there are more reports of the build-up of the Sudanese military in Darfur.

Against this backdrop, the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS), which stepped in to Darfur when the United Nations asked it to, and which has done an extremely good job in exceptionally difficult circumstances, is now struggling to cope — so much so that the African Union has called for transition to a United Nations operation. This resolution responds to that call.

The test before the Council today was whether it was prepared to act to mandate that United Nations mission and assume its responsibilities towards the people of Darfur. The adoption of the resolution shows that it is. The resolution gives the United Nations force in Darfur a clear Chapter VII mandate to use all necessary means to protect civilians. We are heartened that, as shown by the vote today, there is broad consensus among Council members that transition to a United Nations operation is the only viable solution to Darfur's problems. And if I may speak on behalf of others for a moment, I would like to say confidently, based on our conversations, that those countries that abstained did not, I believe, have a fundamental disagreement with the principle that United Nations should take over; the issue was more one of timing.

The resolution adopted today does three clear things. First, it authorizes much-needed United Nations support for AMIS, which it makes clear must begin to be deployed within the next 30 days. Secondly, it mandates the United Nations to deploy additional resources, as soon as possible thereafter, in preparation for the third element: transition to a full United Nations operation no later than 31 December.

A United Nations force operating in support of the Darfur Peace Agreement remains the best vehicle for the people of Darfur. The DPA is not perfect; no one would claim that it is. But is the best — indeed, it is the only — vehicle that we have to bring peace and stability to Darfur. The plan that the Government of the Sudan sent to the Security Council (see S/2006/665, annex) seeks to provide the military solution that Kofi Annan warned against in his report to the Council. A number of commentators have made the suggestion that we should wait to see if the Sudanese plan can be implemented and can provide a solution. We believe very firmly that it cannot. It would be a military solution imposed by one of the parties to the conflict, and one that violated resolutions 1590 (2005) and 1591 (2005), as well as the Darfur Peace Agreement itself.

The adoption of resolution 1706 (2006) today sends a clear message from the Council about the need for an unbiased, well-equipped third party to implement the DPA and ensure the protection of Darfur's civilians.

That does not mean that we do not attach importance to the consent and agreement of the Government of the Sudan. It remains the case that the United Nations cannot deploy in Darfur until we have that agreement; that is not in dispute. We look forward hopefully to the Government of the Sudan's giving its acceptance soon. But in the vote today, the Council has sent a crystal clear message that it wants that agreement to be forthcoming quickly. Indeed, in the

text of its resolution, it explicitly invites the Sudan to provide this.

We believe that if the Government of the Sudan is genuinely concerned about the welfare and protection of its citizens, there is no reason for it not to give its consent. A United Nations force will act in support of the Government of the Sudan by assisting it in implementing the DPA, which the Government of the Sudan signed and which it supports. I would like to underscore that point once more: the United Nations force is there to act in support of the Government of the Sudan; we want to work cooperatively with it. This is a United Nations force that will have a strong African participation and character. It will no more infringe on the Sudan's sovereignty than has the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) in southern Sudan — and UNMIS is a force that the Government of the Sudan has welcomed and has accepted.

We attach great importance to the continuation of dialogue with the Sudan. The adoption of Security Council resolution 1706 (2006) does not change this. We want to do all we can to bring the Government in Khartoum on board. The United Kingdom led a Council mission to the Sudan in June for exactly that purpose. The Council sought to consult again with the Government before adopting today's resolution. Unfortunately, it chose not to accept our invitation to meet with us last Monday. We thank you, Mr. President, for your efforts to bring that meeting about. We very much regret the fact that the Government of the Sudan chose not to attend.

The United Kingdom drafted the resolution in such a way as to make it as acceptable as possible to the Sudan. We listened to the concerns that President Bashir expressed to the Council in Khartoum, and we sought to respond to them accordingly. There is, for example, no reference — although we would have liked one — to the International Criminal Court in the text. And while the resolution contains Chapter VII elements on the protection of civilians and on the United Nations force itself, it is not under Chapter VII in its entirety. The text also states clearly and categorically that the Council remains committed to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Sudan, which will be unaffected by transition to a United Nations operation.

In doing this, we believe that we have sought to meet the Sudanese Government's concerns to the extent that we can reasonably do so. The United Kingdom will play its part in seeking to secure the Sudan's consent from now on. We sent a special envoy last week, and I know that others did the same. A British minister was standing by, ready to see President Bashir today to discuss the resolution, but unfortunately had to turn back after Bashir refused to meet with him.

Almost one year ago, the heads of State of the countries members of the Council signed the World Summit Outcome document, noting the responsibility of each United Nations Member State to protect its citizens and the international community's responsibility to assist in this if the State could not provide for such protection alone. The United Kingdom was at the forefront of efforts to secure this. We are very pleased that this is the first Security Council resolution mandating a United Nations peacekeeping operation to make an explicit reference to this responsibility. It has always been, and it remains, the primary responsibility of the Government of the Sudan to ensure the security of its own citizens. Over the past few years, it manifestly has not done so.

By adopting resolution 1706 (2006) today, the Council is appealing to the Government of the Sudan, in the strongest possible terms, to allow the United Nations to help it to do so. Such a decision would be in the interests of the Sudanese Government, the continent of Africa and the people of Darfur. The Council is here to help the Sudan, not to threaten it; to assist the Sudan, not to undermine it. The Government of the Sudan has nothing to lose from a United Nations operation in Darfur, and everything to gain. We hope to assist it in that endeavour.

**Mr. Wang** Guangya (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The Darfur issue has attracted world attention and remains one of the top items on the Security Council's agenda. The African Union, at the request of the Government of the Sudan, has invested enormous energy and efforts in helping to stabilize the situation in Darfur. China has, all along, highly commended and supported its endeavours. In accordance with a decision by the African Union, after consulting with the Government of National Unity and upon its agreement, the United Nations will take over from the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) in carrying out the mission in the region.

China is in favour of replacing AMIS with a United Nations operation. It is a good idea and realistic option, and it will help to improve the situation on the ground and serve the interests of all parties. We therefore support, with the consent of the Government of National Unity, the deployment of United Nations troops in Darfur as soon as is feasible. We also agree that the Security Council needed to take the necessary decision at an early date, so as to effectively fulfil the responsibilities set forth in the United Nations Charter and assist the Government of National Unity in achieving comprehensive and lasting peace and stability in Darfur.

The Darfur Peace Agreement, concluded in May this year, has created a new dynamic and offers new opportunities for resolving the Darfur issue. Unfortunately, the positive momentum was not fully exploited by the parties involved, and the provisions of the Agreement have failed to yield peace. More alarming, the security situation and the humanitarian conditions in Darfur have further deteriorated. AMIS, as the only peacekeeping force in Darfur, has an arduous task and is confronted with enormous difficulties. To ease the situation on the ground and the difficulties faced by AMIS, Secretary-General Kofi Annan has put forward some very good recommendations. The League of Arab States has also expressed its willingness to finance AMIS. The Security Council should attach great importance to that, give full play to the initiatives of various regional organizations, and help AMIS to overcome difficulties so that it will be able to continue the peacekeeping mission and ease tension in Darfur in a timely and effective manner.

To address and resolve the Darfur crisis, we need to bear in mind both a sense of urgency and a sober assessment of the complexity of the issue. We need to demonstrate both firm determination and the corresponding patience, as well as to take an effective approach. The transition of AMIS to a United Nations mission is a good and pragmatic approach. Such a transition can be possible and the mission can be deployed only when the consent of the Government of National Unity is obtained. That is the understanding of the African Union, as well as the decision of the Security Council.

In order to allay each other's doubts and deepen mutual understanding, Secretary-General Kofi Annan has proposed holding a direct high-level dialogue at the Security Council among the parties involved. That is a constructive initiative endorsed by all Council members. As the hope is to conduct such a dialogue in early September, we deemed it unnecessary for the Council to put the draft resolution to the vote in a hurry. Postponing the vote would have helped to create a good atmosphere among the stakeholders, as well as an environment conducive to the smooth implementation of the resolution.

We felt that, under the current circumstances, the push for adoption by the Council would not contribute to the smooth implementation of the resolution nor help to stop further deterioration of the situation in Darfur. On the contrary, it may trigger further misunderstanding and confrontation on the part of the country directly involved. It may even cause problems with regard to implementing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement process. That is obviously not the outcome intended by the Council in adopting the resolution.

Having participated in all the consultation processes in a constructive manner, China agreed upon or accepted almost all the contents of the resolution. However, we have consistently urged the sponsors to clearly include "with the consent of the Government of National Unity" in the text of the resolution, which is a fixed and standardized phrase utilized by the Council when deploying United Nations missions. We also urged the sponsors to carefully reconsider the timing of the vote. Regrettably, they failed to earnestly heed China's sincere efforts. Due to our principled reservations on the timing of the vote and on the text itself, China could not but abstain from the voting.

I wish to reiterate that China continues firmly to support the peace process in the Sudan, as well as the relevant decisions of the African Union in that regard. We call upon all major parties to act in good faith, show mutual respect and understanding, continue to conduct frank dialogue, increase mutual trust and reinforce cooperation, so as to create good political conditions for the final settlement of the Darfur issue. China is willing and ready to make its own effort to that end.

**Mr. Oshima** (Japan): Japan voted in favour of the resolution on the Sudan. The resolution will expand the mandate of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan into Darfur to support the early and effective implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) and to provide for a transition from the African

Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) to a United Nations operation.

Given the worsening security situation on the ground and the resulting enormous humanitarian disasters and atrocities affecting millions of people — particularly women and children — in Darfur and in neighbouring countries, as well as their implications for peace and security in the entire subregion, we believe that the time is long overdue for the international community to take resolute action on the matter in order to address the situation quickly and effectively through adequate support for AMIS through the United Nations and a transition to a United Nations operation.

Having voted for the resolution, my delegation would like to make a couple of points.

First, we regret that members did not have an opportunity to consider the financial aspects of the elements that make up the resolution fully and in a timely manner prior to its adoption, given that a huge financial contribution is demanded of Member States. That is disappointing and needs to be improved in the future.

Another point we wish to make pertains to the fact that, for the resolution to be implemented, it is extremely important that the consent and cooperation of the Government of the Sudan be assured. To that end, we would like to underline once again the critical importance of continuing efforts to engage in dialogue and consultations with the Sudanese authorities. The position of the Government of the Sudan, unfortunately, does not appear to be quite there yet, although it does seem that the Government has indicated its intention to move in the direction of implementing the DPA. The plan for the restoration of stability and the protection of civilians in Darfur presented by the Government to the Security Council is, in our view, a welcome start, and it should be further explored and clarified in the ensuing dialogue.

Japan wishes to appeal to the Government of the Sudan to cooperate with the United Nations in bringing about peace and stability on the basis of the resolution. We also appeal to the non-signatory parties to the conflict to sign the DPA and to cooperate with the international community to put an end to the conflict and bring calm and prosperity to the people in the region. It is essential that, in striving to persuade the Sudanese Government to permit the transition to go ahead, the approach must be firm but non-confrontational. It must seek mutual understanding. For those reasons, we strongly hope that the proposed meeting between the Security Council and high-level officials of the Government of the Sudan will materialize as soon as possible, and produce constructive results.

In conclusion, we wish to commend once again the efforts of AMIS and of all the humanitarian organizations — United Nations and non-United Nations — and their staff, who have been working courageously under very difficult conditions to save people's lives and alleviate their suffering.

**Mr. Al-Bader** (Qatar) (*spoke in Arabic*): The delegation of Qatar would like to express its appreciation to you, Mr. President, on this last day of your presidency of the Security Council for this month. The Council has been seized with questions of extreme importance to humankind, including those relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. It is our hope that, having listened to our conscience, we will have succeeded in addressing those questions.

Since the very first days of our membership in the Security Council, our delegation has consistently upheld the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the tenets of international law, while giving due regard to political considerations, when addressing all the questions put before the Council, including the issue of Darfur. With the adoption of today's resolution, the issue of Darfur has now reached a drastic turning point, and we hope that we will be able to deal with it successfully.

For our part, we would have preferred a different approach to this sensitive issue. Due regard should have been taken of the numerous aspects and underlying concrete principles of international practice before adopting a resolution that will have a bearing on the sovereignty of the Sudan, a Member State of the United Nations. More efforts should have been made on the political front to prepare the ground for Sudan's voluntary consent to expanding the mandate of United Nations forces and increasing their strength and deploying them to Darfur, a region we know is fraught with tension.

Nevertheless, we also know that the region has undergone many positive developments since the signing of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA), last May. We also know that, in a commendable gesture,

the Government of the Sudan submitted a multifaceted plan to address the situation in Darfur. Regrettably, the Council did not provide the Government of the Sudan with its response to the plan, nor has it submitted any explicit proposals by way of amendments, despite the fact that the plan included many aspects that have been deemed positive by the relevant department of the United Nations Secretariat. Nor were enough efforts made to engage the Sudan instead of pressuring it into approving the resolution that the Council has now adopted. As far as we know, consent is voluntary.

We would have preferred to provide financial and logistical support to the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) to enable it to complete its mandate, which it has, for the most part, carried out honourably and commendably. AMIS has gained considerable experience in dealing with the situation in Darfur. The African Union should be proud of its ability to resolve the problems facing its member States. Support for AMIS has often met with repeated calls to end the Mission's deployment in Darfur and to replace it with international forces.

We had hoped that the normalization of relations between the Sudan and Chad would be positively viewed. In addition, the improvement in the relations between the Sudan and Eritrea should have been deemed a step forward. However, statements made in certain quarters have continued to describe the situation as plummeting into further deterioration.

The League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Government of the Sudan all welcomed the idea of convening of an open Security Council meeting last week. They desired to postpone such a meeting only to enable the stakeholders to attend at a high level. That position was not well received and the request to postpone the meeting was declined. That put the draft resolution at a disadvantage when the Council failed to meet as requested. My delegation has been keen to preserve the unity and consistency of the Council, and that is why we requested that the discussion on any draft resolution be postponed until all of those elements were in place. However, the draft resolution's sponsors, for whom we have the utmost respect, had a political point of view requiring its speedy adoption.

In the light of the above, the delegation of Qatar could not support the resolution, given its repercussions and the modalities of its implementation — which we understand to be one of the tasks entrusted to the Security Council — in the prevailing political atmosphere. Nevertheless, we shall, in cooperation with our Council colleagues, continue to address these tasks with professionalism, although we know how difficult they will be.

**Mr. Lacroix** (France) (*spoke in French*): My delegation welcomes the adoption of this resolution. The Security Council had to respond to the request made to it by the African Union and, of course, to the urgency of the situation in Darfur.

Indeed, in security and humanitarian terms, that situation is extremely worrisome. Over recent months we have seen continued and even growing violence. Its primary victims are civilians, a great number of whom are the direct targets of atrocities. Millions depend on international assistance for their subsistence. Yet the security conditions in which humanitarian aid is delivered continue to deteriorate. Access to those needing assistance is becoming more limited, and if the deterioration of the security situation continues, most humanitarian operations in Darfur will be threatened.

The Abuja Agreement, whose signing was a significant step towards a return to peace, is being weakened by the refusal of many movements to join it and by the continuing violence. The African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) is thus operating in particularly difficult conditions; it recently suffered further human losses. The African Union's resolute engagement to support peace in Darfur deserves our full support.

The text that we just adopted confirms the Organization's resolve to assist in the return of peace to Darfur. Indeed, it envisages a remarkable effort by the United Nations, whose peacekeeping operations have now reached an unprecedented level. That is a real challenge for the Organization, and it is our collective responsibility to ensure that it is successful. That will require continued consultation with the Sudanese authorities, whose cooperation will be essential for the deployment of the operation in Darfur and for the fulfilment of its mission. Of course, the United Nations has no goal other than to provide its assistance to one of its Members, the Sudan.

The remarkable cooperation established between the African Union and the United Nations must also continue, both at the political level and in terms of the presence on the ground. The United Nations operation

in Darfur will, as envisaged in the resolution, have a distinctly African character and rely on strong African participation.

Finally, it will be important to continue to address the Darfur crisis in its regional dimension. Indeed, in recent months we have seen all the repercussions that it could have on the stability of neighbouring countries, particularly Chad and the Central African Republic. With regard to all of these points, the resolution that we just adopted contains clear guidelines, which my delegation welcomes. The spirit of cooperation that characterized the drafting of this text should also guide its implementation.

**Mr. Vassilakis** (Greece): Greece voted in favour of resolution 1706 (2006) because it believes that, given the deteriorating humanitarian and security situation in Darfur, the Security Council had to shoulder its responsibilities and act swiftly. As we have argued on this and on other occasions, when the Council is faced with a humanitarian crisis it has a moral duty to act expeditiously to stop human suffering.

The resolution provides for the immediate strengthening of the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) and the expansion of the mandate of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) to cover Darfur. In addition, it contains language that ensures the effective protection of civilians and humanitarian workers as well as humanitarian access. In our view, those components are crucial to the Council's comprehensive strategy in Darfur.

Notwithstanding the above, the resolution does not mark the end of the road; rather, it constitutes a significant step in the right direction and towards a new beginning. The resolution contains the important element of the consent of the Government of National Unity to the deployment of UNMIS to Darfur. It offers the Government of the Sudan the opportunity to cooperate with the Council in implementing the resolution.

In that respect, resolution 1706 (2006) should be seen as part of the Council's continuous engagement with the Government of the Sudan to advance cooperation with it and to persuade it to reconsider its position. Continuous consultations with other stakeholders, such as the African Union, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, is also particularly pertinent in that regard.

In closing, I can assure members that Greece will be very helpful with regard to the smooth implementation of this resolution.

**Mr. Burian** (Slovakia): Slovakia, as one of the sponsors of the resolution, voted in favour of it and welcomes its adoption by the Council.

Slovakia remains convinced that the situation on the ground in Darfur requires quick and robust action by the international community to stop an upsurge in violence against civilians and to facilitate the implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement. In that respect, the Security Council has the moral duty and responsibility to act without delay to prevent an escalation of the crisis, which would have dire consequences not only for Darfur, but for the entire region.

We believe that the resolution provides an important basis for addressing the urgent problems of a deteriorating situation in Darfur, including through an immediate strengthening of the African Union Mission in the Sudan and, subsequently, through a transition to a United Nations-led operation. In our view, such an operation is the best available option to cope with the complex challenges facing Darfur and to facilitate the peace process, leading to a lasting and sustainable solution to the crisis in Darfur.

Slovakia believes that, with the adoption of this resolution, the international community will continue to be very closely engaged with the Government of the Sudan in a constructive dialogue on ensuring the full implementation of resolution 1706 (2006) and resolving the crisis in Darfur in general, while fully respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. We expect the Government of the Sudan to comply with the provisions of today's resolution and thus to help to end the Darfur crisis in the best interests of all Sudanese people.

**Mr. Churkin** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): During the work on the draft resolution we have just adopted, the Russian delegation did everything possible to help achieve a peaceful diplomatic settlement of the situation in Darfur — a situation that is complex in every respect.

It is of fundamental importance that the resolution clearly states the overriding need for the consent of the Government of National Unity of the Sudan for the deployment of a United Nations

peacekeeping mission in Darfur in accordance with decisions of the Security Council and of the African Union. Such consent has yet to be received. To obtain it, we must continue constructive dialogue with the Sudanese leadership. We consider that the Security Council meeting planned for early September, with the participation of representatives of the Sudanese leadership, the African Union, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, will provide a good opportunity for that.

It is important that the Security Council support the Secretary-General's plan for a phased transition of the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) under the auspices of the United Nations. The first phase would involve enhancing the quality and effectiveness of AMIS, to be followed by the deployment of United Nations peacekeepers — but, I repeat, with the consent of the Sudanese Government.

Pending the receipt of such consent, the Russian delegation decided to abstain in the vote on today's draft resolution, although we have no objections in principle to its content. We will continue to contribute to establishing full-scale cooperation between Khartoum and the United Nations in order to attain an effective settlement of the situation in Darfur on the basis of the Abuja Agreement and the normalization of the humanitarian situation in that province of the Sudan.

**Mr. Mahiga** (United Republic of Tanzania): Let me congratulate you belatedly, on the last day of your presidency, Sir, on your outstanding stewardship of the Security Council during the month of August, a month beset by many difficult and challenging issues on the Council's agenda.

The United Republic of Tanzania welcomes and supports resolution 1706 (2006) for three main reasons. First, Tanzania has always believed and maintained that the political, security and humanitarian crisis in the Darfur region of the Sudan is the concern and responsibility not only of the Sudan and of Africa but also of the international community as a whole, because of its profound ramifications with respect to international peace and security in the region of Africa. The Security Council should thus be actively seized of the search for a peaceful solution. At this stage of the crisis, that means involvement in the implementation and facilitation of both the N'Djamena Ceasefire Agreement of April 2004 and the Darfur Peace Agreement of May 2006.

Secondly, we believe that the African Union has taken more than its fair share of the obligation and responsibility in the search for a peaceful political solution, through the Abuja peace process and through the deployment of the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) to oversee the implementation of both the N'Djamena and Abuja Agreements. The African Union has discharged its obligations superbly in terms of the ownership and the handling of the crisis. But, by its own admission, it is overwhelmed and overstretched by the magnitude and complexity of the task of restoring peace to Darfur. Without the African Union abdicating its responsibility, it is right and proper that the rest of the international community, through the United Nations, should assume joint responsibility to help the Sudan resolve this long-running crisis, which is getting worse. Today's resolution heeds that appeal by Africa, through the African Union.

Thirdly, as an African member of the Security Council, we want to send a message of assurance and of solidarity with the brother State of the Sudan. We assure the Sudan that the sole purpose of today's resolution is to facilitate a peaceful resolution of the Darfur crisis and to strengthen the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Sudan. The solution can come only with full cooperation and partnership with the Sudan. The resolution defines, in a very transparent manner, the mandate and objectives of the United Nations involvement in Darfur. The Council is open to continuous consultation with the Sudan on the implementation of the resolution. Through this resolution, we encourage and invite the Sudan to be part of the tripartite partnership with the African Union and the United Nations, of which the Sudan is a leading member in this honest search for an enduring peace in Darfur — which the people of Darfur deserve.

**Mr. Mayoral** (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): Argentina was a sponsor of resolution 1706 (2006) and voted in favour of it because we believe that one of the main obligations of the United Nations is to protect civilian populations. In that context, we believe that the Security Council cannot shirk its responsibility to protect, in particular, vulnerable groups — women and children — since they are defenceless. We are certain that the Government of the Sudan will now cooperate in strengthening the African Union forces and subsequently in expanding the deployment of the

United Nations Mission in the Sudan beginning on 1 January 2007. We look forward to understanding and assistance from the Government of the Sudan so that the deployment can take place in an orderly fashion; there must be no infringement of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

Finally, we insist once again that parties involved in the Darfur conflict who have not yet signed the Darfur Peace Agreement concluded in May do so without delay in order to ensure stable and lasting peace in the Sudan. Instability there affects not only that country but the entire region.

**Mr. Faaborg-Andersen** (Denmark): Denmark was a sponsor of and voted in favour of resolution 1706 (2006). We did so because, as we have heard over the past couple of days, the situation in Darfur is quickly deteriorating. People are dying every day, and the Council has a responsibility to act. The resolution proposes a dual-track approach: immediate support for the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) in order to make it better able to fulfil its mandate; and simultaneous preparation of a United Nations takeover from AMIS, and a time frame for that. That comprehensive dual-track approach corresponds to the wishes of the African Union and gives all parties a sound basis on which to plan.

Nobody disputes that a United Nations force in Darfur can be deployed only with the consent of the Government of the Sudan, and there is absolutely nothing in the resolution that precludes further dialogue with the Government of the Sudan on this issue. Indeed, we hope that efforts will be stepped up to intensify the dialogue with the Government of National Unity to persuade it to accept such a transfer. The fact that the Government of the Sudan has not yet given its consent could not, however, be a reason to postpone the adoption of this very necessary resolution, because that would have meant delaying the very necessary support to AMIS, which can potentially save lives in Darfur.

We hope that all efforts will now be concentrated on the quick implementation of this resolution, to the benefit of the people of Darfur.

**The President**: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Ghana.

Ghana takes pride in having voted for the draft resolution authorizing the expansion of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) into Darfur. UNMIS has the mandate, experience and capability to make a positive difference in the lives of the suffering people of Darfur.

As many as 16 African countries are already participating in UNMIS. This further underscores the close cooperation that has always existed between the African Union (AU) and the United Nations in the promotion of peace and stability in Africa.

Although the resolution is not a magic wand that will change the situation in Darfur overnight, its adoption nonetheless is timely and gives the Sudanese Government an opportunity to cooperate with the United Nations in seeking a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the crisis in Darfur.

We share the view that the adoption of this resolution, which also aims to highlight the gravity of the situation on the ground despite the signing of the Darfur Peace Agreement, still leaves the door open for effective cooperation between the Government of the Sudan, the United Nations, the AU and other international actors in finding a lasting solution to the crisis.

On the other hand, if the Sudanese Government persists in conducting military operations in Darfur, that would be a clear breach of the commitments undertaken under both the Darfur Peace Agreement and previous Security Council resolutions.

Ghana believes that, by voting in favour of the resolution, we have fulfilled a duty to the suffering victims of war in Darfur and, indeed, to all of Africa.

Our vote — that of a founding member of the African Union — also reaffirms one of the cardinal principles enshrined in article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, which recognizes the right of the Union to intervene in a member State in respect of grave circumstances, namely war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity.

In adopting that principle, the AU member States set themselves the highest standards of accountability in governance. But, more importantly, they assumed the responsibility to protect the victims of war on the continent. Clearly, the situation in the Sudan merits some form of international engagement that is timely, meaningful, well-coordinated and effective.

It is for those reasons that we have reservations about the inclusion in the draft text of explicit language that implies that the Government of the Sudan can take all the time it wants before allowing the United Nations to deploy in Darfur, or even refuse to do so, regardless of the cost in human lives. Several observers have repeatedly expressed concern about the alarming situation in Darfur. They cannot all be wrong.

Once again, therefore, we call on the Government of the Sudan to heed the voices of its own suffering people and of the international community, because, from all indications, we have not acted swiftly enough.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

*The meeting rose at 11.05 a.m.*

United Nations S/PV.5520

# Security Council

Sixty-first year

*Provisional*

**5520**th meeting

Monday, 11 September 2006, 10.30 a.m.

New York

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *President:* | Mr. Vassilakis | (Greece) |
| *Members:* | Argentina | Mr. García Moritán |
| | China | Mr. Liu Zhenmin |
| | Congo | Mr. Gayama |
| | Denmark | Ms. Løj |
| | France | Mr. De La Sablière |
| | Ghana | Mr. Christian |
| | Japan | Mr. Oshima |
| | Peru | Ms. Tincopa |
| | Qatar | Mr. Al-Bader |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Churkin |
| | Slovakia | Mr. Burian |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir Emyr Jones Parry |
| | United Republic of Tanzania | Mr. Mahiga |
| | United States of America | Mr. Bolton |

## Agenda

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan

Report of the Secretary-General on Darfur (S/2006/591 and S/2006/591/Add.1)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

06-51559 (E)

*The meeting was called to order at 11 a.m.*

**Minute of silence**

**The President**: Today marks five years since the tragic events of 11 September 2001, when 2,973 innocent people lost their lives in the cowardly terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre. Today we pay tribute to those who perished and praise the families they have left behind, who have been forced by tragic fate to confront life without their loved ones. We pay our respects to the people and the Government of the United States of America, who solemnly honour their heroes today.

I call upon the members of the Security Council to observe a minute of silence in honour of the victims of the 11 September attacks.

*The members of the Security Council observed a minute of silence.*

**Expression of thanks to the retiring President**

**The President**: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of September, I should like to take the opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Nana Effah-Apenteng, Permanent Representative of Ghana, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of August 2006. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Effah-Apenteng for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan**

**Report of the Secretary-General on Darfur (S/2006/591 and Add.1)**

**The President**: Pursuant to the invitation extended by the Council under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of the Sudan to participate in this meeting.

Pursuant to the invitations extended by the Council under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, I invite His Excellency Mr. Yahya Mahmassani, Permanent Observer for the League of Arab States to the United Nations, and His Excellency Mr. Abdul Wahab, Permanent Observer for the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, and Her Excellency Mrs. Alice Mungwa, Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Observer Mission of the African Union to the United Nations, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2006/591 and Addendum 1, which contain the report of the Secretary-General on Darfur. I wish also to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2006/683, which contains the text of a letter dated 21 August 2006 from the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of the Sudan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my pleasure to welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, at this meeting, following the *périple* he has made since last week's meeting. I invite him to take the floor.

**The Secretary-General**: The tragedy in Darfur has reached a critical moment. It merits the Council's closest attention and urgent action. It is vital that we all speak candidly about what is happening and about what it will take to bring to an end the suffering of so many millions of people. I am very pleased to see the African Union, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference represented here today. It is also important that the Government of the Sudan is participating in this meeting.

We have all heard the latest deeply dismaying reports of renewed fighting — particularly in north Darfur — among the various factions. Thousands of Sudan Armed Forces troops have been deployed to the area in clear violation of the Darfur Peace Agreement. Even worse, the area has been subjected to renewed aerial bombing. I strongly condemn the escalation. The Government should stop its offensive immediately and refrain from any further such action.

The latest clashes have brought even greater misery to a population that has already endured far too much. Once again, people have been displaced. The

total number of displaced now stands at 1.9 million. Nearly 3 million people in Darfur depend on international aid for food, shelter and medical treatment. The fighting has made it much, much harder for humanitarian workers to reach them.

In July, insecurity prevented the World Food Programme from delivering food to 470,000 people in desperate need. In August, the World Food Programme reached the people in south Darfur, but some 355,000 people in north Darfur remained cut off from food aid, most of them for the third consecutive month. Never since July 2004, when I signed a joint communiqué with the Sudan's Foreign Minister, has access been so severely limited.

Humanitarian workers have continued to be targets of brutal violence, physical harassment and rhetorical vilification. Many of their vehicles have been stolen. Twelve aid workers have lost their lives in the past two months alone — more than in the previous two years. We pay tribute to their sacrifice, but we cannot and must not accept the acts that led to it. Relief personnel must be allowed to do their jobs unhindered and in safety.

As access gets harder, the humanitarian gains of the past two years are being rolled back. Unless security improves, we face the prospect of having to drastically curtail an acutely needed humanitarian operation. Can we in conscience leave the people of Darfur to such a fate? Can the international community, having not done enough for the people of Rwanda in their time of need, just watch as this tragedy deepens? Having finally agreed — just one year ago — that there is a responsibility to protect, can we contemplate failing yet another test? Lessons either learned or not, principles either upheld or scorned, this is no time for the middle ground of half measures or further debate.

This latest fighting shows utter disregard for the Darfur Peace Agreement. That Agreement created hopes that are being shattered. Current developments defy several of the Council's resolutions and violate commitments that were made, including the non-deployment of additional Sudanese armed forces. Such action is legally and morally unacceptable.

Evidently, those who have ordered this action still believe that there can be a military solution to the crisis in Darfur. Yet, surely, all parties should have understood by now, after so much death and destruction, that only a political agreement in which all stakeholders are fully engaged can bring real peace to the region.

As the Council made clear in resolution 1706 (2006), the Darfur Peace Agreement gives us a chance to achieve peace. In the coming days, we in the Secretariat will be meeting senior officials from the Commission of the African Union to finalize a support package for the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS). The Department of Peacekeeping Operations will also convene a meeting of potential troop and police contributors to discuss the expansion of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan to Darfur.

The African Union has been very clear about the need for the transition from AMIS to a United Nations peacekeeping operation, on which the Council has decided. The AU has been equally clear about the need for AMIS to continue until then, as well as about the need to resist any attempt to subvert decisions aimed at achieving those vital objectives. The League of Arab States has also offered vital backing for the transition, and has voiced its conviction that AMIS should stay until the end of the year. Indeed, there can be no walking away from AMIS. The AU troops have performed valiantly, in very difficult conditions. They have a vital role to play until a United Nations operation can be put in place, but they still lack the necessary resources. Once again, I cal' on AMIS's partners to ensure that it can continue to work during this crucial transition period.

But let us be clear: we all know that the Government of the Sudan still refuses to accept the transition, and the Council has recognized that without the Government's consent the transition will not be possible. Once again, therefore, I urge the Government of the Sudan to embrace the spirit of resolution 1706 (2006), to give its consent to the transition and to pursue the political process with new energy and commitment.

The consequences of the Government's current attitude — yet more death and suffering, perhaps on a catastrophic scale — will be felt first and foremost by the people of Darfur. But the Government itself will also suffer if it fails in its sacred responsibility to protect its own people. It will suffer opprobrium and disgrace in the eyes of all Africa and the whole international community. Moreover, neither those who

decide such policies nor those who carry them out should imagine that they will not be held accountable.

But my voice alone will not convince the Government. I have tried repeatedly to explain the transition to the Government and to clear up any misconceptions or myths. In public and in private, I have stressed the humanitarian situation and appealed to the Government's own sense of pragmatism. It is time now for additional voices to make themselves heard. We need Governments and individual leaders in Africa and beyond who are in a position to influence the Government of the Sudan to bring that pressure to bear without delay. There must also be a clear, strong and uniform message from this Council.

This is a perilous moment for the people of Darfur, but it is also a decisive moment for the Council itself. For more than two years, the Council has been working to stem the fighting and improve the situation in Darfur. Yet, once again, we find ourselves on the brink of a new calamity. The current situation cannot be sustained. It is time to act. This is seen — not only in Darfur but by people around the world — as a crucial test of the Council's authority and effectiveness, its solidarity with people in need and its seriousness in the quest for peace. I urge the Council, in the strongest possible terms, to rise to the occasion.

**The President**: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

I now give the floor to the representative of the Sudan.

**Mr. Abdelsalam** (Sudan) (*spoke in Arabic*): I would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, the representative of Ghana, on his presidency for the previous month.

First of all, I would like to confirm a basic truth, namely, that the Government of the Sudan has always been fully interested in establishing constructive cooperation and objective dialogue with the United Nations in order to ensure peace and stability, for the Sudan has been active and committed in this Organization since it became a member. It played recognized roles within the circles where it was a direct member, including the African Union (AU), the League of Arab States (LAS) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). It therefore has a number of responsibilities and commitments vis-à-vis this Organization.

It is clear that the Sudan is currently host to one of the largest United Nations peacekeeping missions, which was deployed in the Sudan on the basis of an agreement between the two parties within the context of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. The Government of the Sudan is the first party to that Agreement. Dialogue and interaction with the United Nations was, then, governed by the principles of the Charter and respect for sovereignty. At that time, there was no need for the Security Council to hold such continuous meetings. However, with regard to the Council's approach to the situation in Darfur, things have proceeded down a different path characterized by an imbalanced scale of justice and the lack of the criteria for credibility. There are many testimonies to that, of which we can cite the following.

First of all, all Council members are fully aware of the enormous obstacles that faced the latest rounds of the Abuja peace talks — and no one can deny the seriousness or the flexibility of the Government of the Sudan, which was committed to both the success of the negotiations and the achievement of agreement. The Council is also aware of the fact that the Sudanese Government delegation frequently remained at the negotiating table, while the armed movements boycotted the meetings repeatedly. Besides, no one can ignore the concessions made by the Government of the Sudan, without which this agreement would never have been reached. However, the Council's first presidential statement had no words of praise whatsoever for the role of the Government, not even a strong message warning the parties which did not sign the Agreement.

Secondly, before the Darfur Peace Agreement entered into force, there were calls for the deployment of international forces, which is not stipulated by the Agreement. The Security Council and the African Union Peace and Security Council issued two statements in support of the Agreement, in which they called on the parties which did not sign the Agreement to do so. They also threatened to impose sanctions against those trying to undermine the Agreement.

Shortly after the signing of the Agreement, those who rejected it announced the setting up of the so-called National Salvation Front, which treacherously attacked the town of Hamrat es-Sheikh in the north of Kurdufah, and openly declared that the objective of the

attack was the abortion of the Darfur Peace Agreement. Seeing that we used to believe that the Security Council was eager to protect and implement the Agreement and, above all, to safeguard its own credibility and implement its resolutions — especially 1591 (2005), which stipulated imposing sanctions on all those who hinder the Peace Agreement — we submitted to the Council a documented complaint containing the names of the perpetrators. A copy of the complaint was also sent to the Chairman of the sanctions Committee set up under that resolution. What happened? Two months after the complaint, the Council has not yet made the slightest pronouncement on it.

Thirdly, in July, on the sidelines of the Banjul summit of the African Union, the President of the Republic met with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. They agreed on a plan to implement the Darfur Peace Agreement. The Sudanese Government presented a comprehensive and detailed plan to address the situation in Darfur on the basis of the Agreement. That plan includes clear, precise and well-defined guidelines covering all the various political, security, humanitarian and social aspects. We submitted the plan to the Security Council in the hope that it would be considered and recognized as a genuine national effort to address the situation in Darfur wisely and thoughtfully, taking all requirements into account.

But what happened? The Security Council has not even considered calling a meeting to examine that plan, knowing that some members of the Council have requested a meeting on the plan.

Fourthly, the Government of the Sudan was invited once again to attend the high-level meeting of 8 September. It promised to participate, but it made an official request to the Council to postpone the meeting and to ensure that no measure would be taken before then, in order to ensure that the Sudanese Government could participate with a high-level delegation, because it was keen to fulfil all requirements for serious dialogue with the Council on this issue. It was surprised, however, that the Security Council ignored its request, refusing even to listen to us. Instead, it held its meeting as planned and adopted resolution 1706 (2006).

At the meeting on the Sudan on 28 August, at which the draft text of resolution 1706 (2006) was discussed in the absence of the Sudan, certain comments and erroneous conclusions were made, and they formed the basis of the resolution. I should like to comment on that information.

Some mentioned that the Sudan refused to attend the meeting. That is not true. The Sudan made highest-level contact, between the President of the Republic and the Secretary-General, during which it requested that the meeting be postponed so that we might further prepare for it and consult with the three regional organizations invited to the meeting. The Secretary-General promised to forward that request to the President of the Council.

We followed up by sending a letter to the President of the Council requesting that the meeting be postponed in order to allow us to participate actively and fruitfully, but our request was, unfortunately, not granted. We believe that if the Council had agreed to postpone the meeting it would not have adopted the resolution, which was based on a mistaken conclusion. We wish the meeting could have been held before the resolution was adopted.

Secondly, it was said during the meeting that the Darfur Peace Agreement was on the verge of collapse. Yet no one asked why that was so. Some spoke of growing violence in Darfur, the targeting of humanitarian organizations and attacks on African Union forces. Yet no one mentioned who the perpetrators were. Moreover, the criminal act of the National Salvation Front was not condemned. Now, when the Government exercises its legitimate right of self-defence, some speak out about "military escalation" and state that the Darfur conflict will not be settled militarily. Where were those voices when the Sudanese Government was being attacked? What kinds of verdicts are being handed down? Laxity in condemning such aggression encourages the aggressors to continue their attacks, not only against the Government, but also against the forces of Minni Arkoy Minawi — who was a signatory of the Agreement — and against African Union convoys and humanitarian personnel. We all know that this is so.

Thirdly, with regard to the Government's plan to restore stability and protect civilians in Darfur, the discussion focused on military and security aspects and was based on misunderstandings and erroneous conclusions. Had the Government of the Sudan been consulted on these issues, the Council would not have adopted a resolution based on flawed speculation. The

Darfur Peace Agreement addresses the integration of 4,000 members of Darfur movements into the Sudanese Armed Forces; every three soldiers of the existing Sudanese Armed Forces would be matched with one from among the movements. All would be deployed in Darfur. A simple calculation shows that the overall force in Darfur would amount to 16,000 troops. Six thousand would be deployed between 1 August and 30 September and the remaining 10,000 between 31 October and 31 December 2006.

How can one talk about violations of the Darfur Peace Agreement or an alleged military escalation? During the same period, according to the plan, 3,348 African Union troops would also be deployed. How can it be said that these forces were ignored? The Comprehensive Peace Agreement clearly stipulates that the United Nations Mission in the Sudan is deployed in southern Sudan and other regions affected by the war in the south. There is no such reference in the Darfur Peace Agreement.

In adopting resolution 1706 (2006), the Security Council deliberately took hasty measures without preparing the political context with all parties involved in the issue, foremost among them the Sudanese Government, which is the party principally concerned and which firmly believes that this dialogue is a one-way, unilateral dialogue. By acting hastily, the Council chose a confrontational approach, but the Government of the Sudan is always ready to engage in dialogue on this issue, in which it is the main interested party. We will keep the doors open to unlimited and unconditional cooperation with the international community and all peace-loving countries, in conformity with all principles and practices that respect its sovereignty and independence and that take account of its people's specific characteristics, values and heritage. A lasting peace in Darfur is and will always be a strategic objective of our Government and the overriding will of our people. We will pursue our current efforts to implement the Darfur Peace Agreement and will not rest until peace and security are restored throughout Darfur.

**The President**: I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Yahya Mahmassani, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations.

**Mr. Mahmassani** (*spoke in Arabic*): I should like at the outset to thank you, Sir, for having invited us to participate in this meeting to discuss the situation in Darfur. I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We greatly value your vast experience and wise leadership of the work of the Council. I would also like to commend your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Ghana, for having so ably presided over the deliberations of the Council during the month of August.

The League of Arab States welcomed the results of the Abuja peace negotiations, which culminated in the signing, on 5 May, of the Darfur Peace Agreement between the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan Liberation Movement. The League of Arab States has also appealed to all parties that did not sign the Agreement to commit to dialogue as the sole means of achieving peace in Darfur. Furthermore, the League of Arab States welcomed the positive steps taken by the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan Liberation Movement to begin the implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement, as well as the related positive developments at all levels.

The League of Arab States is coordinating its efforts and cooperating with the African Union in that respect. We call on the armed groups that have not yet signed the Darfur Peace Agreement to halt the military escalation, and we call on the international community to make efforts to prevent any undermining of the Agreement by military means. At the same time, we call for further cooperation and assistance with a view to finding a solution to the deteriorating humanitarian situation in Darfur.

Cooperation and dialogue are the only path to a solution to the question of Darfur. Having considered Security Council resolution 1706 (2006), the Council of the League of Arab States stresses the need to secure the consent of the Government of the Sudan before dispatching forces to Darfur so as to ensure that they are not rejected. The Arab League Council also called for cooperation and consultation among the Government of the Sudan, the United Nations, the African Union, the League of Arab States and the members of the Security Council, aimed at arriving at an understanding in the implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement. It also called on the international community to fulfil its commitments to implement the Darfur Peace Agreement.

**The President**: I give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Abdul Wahab, Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations.

**Mr. Wahab**: On behalf of the Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), I would like to extend warm felicitations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this eventful month. I would also like to convey the OIC's appreciation to you and to all the other members of the Security Council for having invited us to take part in this open briefing on the Sudan situation.

The OIC welcomes the presence of His Excellency Secretary-General Kofi Annan at today's meeting, and thanks him sincerely for his important statement.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference joins the rest of the international community in condemning the heinous acts of terrorism committed on 11 September five years ago. The OIC reiterates its commitment to combating international terrorism in close cooperation with the rest of the international community.

Although Secretary General Ihsanoglu was unable to attend this meeting, he looks forward to participating in the Security Council's meeting on cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, which you, Sir, have very kindly scheduled for 20 September.

With regard to the Sudan situation, the OIC maintains that any deployment of a United Nations mission on the territory of the Sudan should be subject to the consent of the Government of the Sudan. The OIC Secretary General has been in contact with the Government of the Sudan. Last week, he held a useful discussion with the European Union's Special Representative for the Sudan, Mr. Pekka Haavisto. Next week, Secretary General Ihsanoglu will be holding detailed consultations on the issue with leaders of the African Union and the League of Arab States here in New York.

The OIC will continue to play an active and constructive role on the issue of Darfur at both the political and humanitarian levels, with the cooperation of the Government of the Sudan and in conformity with international legitimacy.

**The President**: I invite those Council members who would like to make comments or raise questions in response to the briefings that we have heard to so indicate to the Secretariat.

**Mr. Brencick**: (United States of America): I, too, would like to thank the Secretary-General for his sobering — even alarming — briefing today. His call for urgent action to address the crisis in Darfur should resonate all the way from this Chamber to the presidential palace in Khartoum.

We also welcome the presence and participation of the representatives of the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

The Sudan — according to the chargé d'affaires today — is always open to dialogue with the Council. That raises the question, of course, of where its representatives were when the Council invited them to our meeting on 28 August in which we made clear to the Government of National Unity our concern about the situation in Darfur, our conviction that outside assistance is essential and our desire to work with the Government of National Unity to achieve a satisfactory outcome.

In his whole lengthy intervention today, the one critical point that Sudanese chargé d'affaires left out was a stated commitment by the Government of National Unity to address the humanitarian situation — the suffering of the people of Darfur — by consenting to the deployment of United Nations forces and by cooperating with the implementation of resolution 1706 (2006).

We have already heard Jan Egeland, Under-Secretary-General of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, describe the situation in Darfur as a man-made catastrophe of an unprecedented scale, which, he said, would get even worse if a political solution were not reached imminently. We have also read remarks from António Guterres, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, that Darfur is on the verge of a terrible disaster and a humanitarian catastrophe if the Government of National Unity does not allow United Nations forces into region. Now, we have just heard the same assessment from the Secretary-General himself.

Aid agencies have consistently asserted that their work is impossible without a United Nations force on the ground to provide them with needed security. How

many people need to describe the horror of the situation in Darfur, and how much worse must the situation become, before the Government of National Unity gets the message?

The adoption of resolution 1706 (2006) was a first step. The second and more crucial step is implementing it. Rather than assuming its responsibility, the Government of National Unity has indicated that it will take a step backwards by forcing the expulsion of the troops of the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) by the end of this month, leaving a vacuum in Darfur for the Government of National Unity to fill with its own troops.

We must support the African Union (AU) and AMIS at this critical point in maintaining their key role in addressing the Darfur crisis and the suffering of the people. If the AU Peace and Security Council decides to extend AMIS through the end of the year, everyone, including the Government of National Unity, must do everything possible to support it. This includes immediately implementing resolution 1706 (2006), which calls for robust assistance to AMIS. The Council agreed that the transition of AMIS to a United Nations operation is the best option for all. We will circulate a draft presidential statement this afternoon, whose purpose is to allow the Council to speak for the international community with one strong clear voice, and to say to ... Government of National Unity, "Work with us, because the situation in Darfur cannot stand".

**Sir Emyr Jones Parry** (United Kingdom): I too am grateful to the Secretary-General for his briefing and his guidance, and to those others who have already participated in the discussion.

The United Kingdom condemns the attacks that have taken place — attacks by the forces of the Government of the Sudan in Darfur, and attacks by bandits and rebel movements. We condemn both sides equally.

The fact is, as the Secretary-General has argued, Darfur faces a humanitarian catastrophe. It should be quite clear that the primary responsibility of Governments is to protect their own citizens. It follows that the primary responsibility for the security of the people in Darfur rests with the Government of National Unity, and that security needs to be delivered for the ordinary people.

The interest of the Security Council is straightforward — to avert a humanitarian crisis, to actually preserve and work with the Government of the Sudan so that its territorial integrity is maintained, and to make sure that Darfur does not become a threat to the unity of the State or to the stability of the region. It is a legitimate interest, an interest that, over the years, some members of the Council have disputed. But by today, we all understand what that interest is and why we should follow it. And it is an interest that the Government of the Sudan consistently failed to recognize.

Darfur is not amenable to a military solution, so the suggestion this morning that insufficient attention was paid to the peace plan of the Government of the Sudan is to turn history on its head. We have discussed it. What is clear is that it does not provide the answer. Nor does it provide forces on the ground who would enjoy the confidence of the people of Darfur. We had discussions. We were open to discussions with representatives of the Government of the Sudan, and those were not forthcoming. The net result was that we moved on to adopt Security Council resolution 1706 (2006). We did that so that two simple goals could be achieved: first, that the African Mission in Sudan (AMIS) could be reinforced — and we provided for that — and secondly, that the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) could be deployed into Darfur to provide the security that the Darfur Peace Agreement envisages.

The protestations that this infringes national sovereignty, when UNMIS has been in the south working to consolidate the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, ring very hollow. The involvement of the United Nations is recognized by the African Union and by most Member States of the United Nations as being the logical step forward, so that the United Nations can help the Government of the Sudan to fulfil its responsibility to protect its people. It is as simple as that, and resolution 1706 (2006) provides for that clarity.

As for lack of consultations, well, I wonder how many consultations one has to have. Security Council sitting in Khartoum, in Juba and in El Fasher had lots of consultations. There have been countless discussions since then. But what has been consistent is the unwillingness of the President of the Sudan to actually agree that this force should be deployed into Darfur.

The stark reality is that if this force is not deployed — just a year since we adopted the responsibility to protect in the General Assembly — we will face a real crisis, and we will face that because of the intransigence of the Government, not because the nations of the United Nations were not willing. We have made it clear we are willing. We have made it clear that the terms of the resolution reflect what was said to us in Khartoum and separately. We have put forward the most conciliatory resolution possible. That is why we ought to do everything possible now to ensure that the resolution is implemented.

I have three simple priorities for the moment. The first is to strengthen and extend the mandate of AMIS. Resolution 1706 (2006) provides for that, in part. Clearly, the other part is a decision by the Peace and Security Council of the African Union. But we cannot leave a vacuum in Darfur. A vacuum where the forces of the Government of the Sudan, the Janjaweed and the rebels are allowed to fight it out is bad for all of us, but it is particularly grim for the citizens living in Darfur. Providing the capabilities and the financing for the continuation of AMIS is basic. It is not enough to have pious declarations that if this force continues, the funding will be provided. It is time for words actually to lead to delivery, and delivery means strengthening AMIS.

Secondly, there are the problems in Chad. Chad, with no recognizable border with Darfur, has a real problem at the moment. But the need to provide adequate security for people in camps in Chad is obvious. That is part of resolution 1706 (2006), and the United Kingdom looks to the Department for Peacekeeping Operations to come up with proposals to actually deliver that security. Moreover, it must plan on the assumption that if the crisis does unfold in Darfur, it is quite likely that Chad will have an even bigger humanitarian problem. So it is very important to prepare to cope with that and to actually have security provided in the camps in Chad.

Thirdly, we should maintain our efforts to persuade President Al-Bashir. All of us — regional organizations, countries with particular influence that they can bring to bear in Khartoum — need to persuade the President that actually putting in place the provisions of resolution 1706 (2006) is good for the Sudan, because in the end, providing peace and security in Darfur is the best insurance for the integrity and stability of the Sudan. It is good for the region, and above all, it tackles one of the big humanitarian crises.

The United Nations has made it clear that it is ready to fulfil its part. The question is, is the Government of the Sudan prepared to fulfil its obligations to its own people?

**Mr. Gayama** (Congo) (*spoke in French*): On behalf of the Congolese delegation, I should like to say, Mr. President, delighted we are to see you in the presidential seat, and to congratulate you not only as a seasoned diplomat, but also as the head of a dynamic team — that of Greece, with which we have always had the great pleasure of cooperating. Furthermore, as neighbours, our two missions share the same building, which is always reassuring in these times of insecurity — yet another reason, if reason were needed, to have even more confidence in you, Sir.

Your predecessor, Ambassador Nana Effah-Apenteng knows how much, both bilaterally and in the pan-African context, Ghana and Congo have always worked hand in hand, which was made abundantly clear last month.

It was just at the end of last month that the Council adopted resolution 1706 (2006) — not, we hoped, to get through by force despite the unexpected obstacles that, it is true, littered the way to the progressive implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement, but hoping to rally to that cause both the sponsors and the protagonists of the crisis. Today is an opportunity for all those who had called for the postponement until today of the consideration of the situation in the Sudan, starting with the Government of the Sudan itself, to join with the Council so as to meet the expectations of the African Union, which reflect other, very specific expectations — that an end be put to the daily sufferings endured by the civilian population in Darfur.

In a little more than two weeks' time, the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) will reach the deadline of 30 September 2006 — the date set for the handover to a United Nations operation. While resolution 1706 (2006) of 31 August confirmed the commitment of the Security Council in that respect, it also called upon the Sudanese Government to lend its support to facilitate such a transition, in keeping with the modalities set out by the Secretary-General in his report dated 28 July.

Congo's repeated calls for dialogue and cooperation on the part of all interested parties have been motivated solely by the need effectively to meet the requirements of such a United Nations operation, given the coordination requirements set out in the 5 May Darfur Peace Agreement.

We welcome the participation in this debate of important partners such as the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, whose views and assistance have always been very much appreciated by the African Union in the context of the process of achieving conditions leading to lasting peace in the Sudan.

The African Union's 7,000 armed troops have been waiting stalwartly for a decision on deployment policies, with a view to promoting a process geared towards practical solutions with respect to the forces on the ground and to the sorely tested civilian population.

In a recent statement made on 5 September last, the African Union's Peace and Security Council reiterated its position on the reinforcement of AMIS and its cooperation with the United Nations. It reaffirmed in particular its decisions of 10 March, 15 May and 27 June; reiterated its support for AMIS; and called on the parties scrupulously to abide by the ceasefire, guarantee the protection and security of AMIS personnel, and refrain from any action that could undermine the peace process or efforts to implement the Darfur Peace Agreement. The Peace and Security Council also recalled the fact that on 18 September, here in New York, a meeting on Darfur will be held at the ministerial level, in parallel with the sixty-first session of the General Assembly.

The African Union is well aware of the importance of the Darfur-Darfur dialogue and consultations as an internal mechanism aimed at clarifying the political and institutional stakes. It therefore accords it a role that the Council, too, would be well advised to support. This would also represent a useful tool for the Sudanese Government and the international community to promote cooperation with a view to establishing a peaceful and democratic Sudan.

It is with that fundamental objective in mind that the Sudanese Government is called on to exercise its influence and authority in a manner commensurate with its desire to promote the development and management of Darfur's resources as well as to address other social issues there.

The plan submitted a few weeks ago by the Sudan, while it reflects an increased awareness of the responsibility of the Sudanese leaders to their people, remains insufficient. We would have merely taken note of it if the serious concerns flagged by Africa and the international community had elicited an appropriate response from the Sudanese Government, which was a signatory to the Abuja Peace Agreement.

However, the behaviour of the armed factions on the ground has not been in keeping with the spirit or the letter of that Agreement. The situation has gotten so bad that the activities of humanitarian agencies and organizations have been hampered and even obstructed, in a manner that appears deliberate. Every passing day is a lost opportunity for the civilian population, whose situation is becoming ever more precarious and whose health, security and even lives are threatened by the abuses and heinous crimes committed against them by their own Sudanese compatriots. The tragic details have been amply described in the reports of the Secretary-General, particularly the one dated 28 July, as well as in the statement that Mr. Annan made this morning, so I need not reiterate them.

The situation in Darfur should have already, several months ago, elicited a specific, concrete response, given the willingness expressed by the international community, particularly in resolution 1679 (2006) of 16 May and resolution 1706 (2006) of 31 August. It is, to say the least, regrettable that, despite the contacts made in Khartoum by the Council and jointly by the African Union and the United Nations, the decisive agreement expected of the Sudanese Government has not yet been forthcoming. Khartoum has in recent times even adopted an attitude of conspicuous rejection of a United Nations operation.

The Security Council, however, would be ill-advised to just give up. We urge the Council further to refine its approach to Darfur and not to fail to make further efforts at rapprochement with regional organizations and Governments that may have an influence on the various protagonists.

We deem of great importance the debate planned for 20 September to discuss relations with the regional organizations and the United Nations. The Security Council will have to explore, advisedly, the

possibilities for action entrusted to it by the Charter, in particular under Chapter VIII. It should be able to draw on other resources offered by bilateral or multilateral diplomacy involving the United Nations and Member States, or the United Nations and intergovernmental or non-governmental organizations, so as to use the full panoply of its capacities for prevention or action.

We believe that by further developing such an approach, which does not rule out action on the ground, it would be possible to maximize every opportunity to resolve misunderstandings. In order to do so, it is important for the Council to speak on the basis of consensus, to guarantee the implementation of its decisions, particularly if they are to be operational, and to rally the main protagonists of the situation to its views.

If the strengthening of AMIS is at this stage the best way to assess the degree of commitment of the international community to Darfur, it would be wise to take this opportunity to strengthen AMIS. The African Union would welcome such a development.

I cannot conclude without noting that today, 11 September, is a day of commemoration of the attacks against the United States. I wish to express the full sympathy of my delegation to the United States delegation and to assure it of our determination to fight against indiscriminate terrorism, which brings death and despair to innocent victims throughout the world.

**Mr. Liu Zhenmin** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): Mr. President, may I start by expressing my deep appreciation to you for your efforts to convene this meeting. This meeting provided the parties with a useful platform for exchanges and cooperation on the question of the Sudan. We wish also to thank the Secretary-General for his presence and for his statement.

We appreciate the efforts made by the Secretary-General to address the question of Darfur. We support the proposal and the constructive initiative to hold a high-level dialogue on the Sudan. We welcome the presence of the representatives of the Sudanese Government, the African Union (AU), the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, three of whom made statements at this meeting.

The Darfur issue is now the focus of the international community's attention and a priority on the agenda of the Security Council; the international community has been working tirelessly to resolve it. The African Union has sent the largest mission ever to Darfur to undertake an arduous peacekeeping task. Humanitarian workers from the United Nations and other relevant organizations have swiftly delivered relief supplies to refugees in the Darfur region to alleviate the humanitarian situation there. Relevant regional organizations and various countries have also lent a helping hand or contributed advice and ideas. The fundamental goal of their efforts is to help the Sudanese Government restore peace in Darfur, assist the local population and ultimately achieve peace throughout the Sudan.

Since the Security Council's adoption of resolution 1706 (2006), China has been closely following developments related to the Sudanese issue, particularly the situation in Darfur. We have noted that although the parties disagree about how to address the Darfur issue, they have a consensus on at least two points. First, the United Nations should take over the tasks now undertaken by the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS). That is a recommendation of the Secretary-General and the collective position of the AU; it is also a pragmatic solution. Secondly, we should continue to seek the consent and cooperation of the Sudanese Government regarding the deployment of United Nations peacekeeping troops. Although that Government has not accepted resolution 1706 (2006), the door to dialogue should remain wide open.

On the basis of that consensus, China maintains that the members of the international community should continue to strengthen coordination and cooperation. They should continue to seek to dispel the Sudanese Government's suspicions and concerns regarding the deployment of United Nations troops; they should also swiftly take measures to ease the security and humanitarian situation in Darfur.

At this point, we can proceed on two fronts. First, we should adopt measures to strengthen AMIS. The AU Peace and Security Council will soon hold a meeting of ministers for foreign affairs in New York. At that time, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan will also be present for the General Assembly session. On the basis of full consultation, the parties can make appropriate arrangements for the future of AMIS and for its mandate.

Secondly, we must provide emergency humanitarian relief and funding to remove the very real obstacles to humanitarian assistance. We have noted that Under-Secretary-General Egeland has often appealed to the parties to honour their pledges regarding assistance. The parties should heed that appeal and honour their commitments as soon as possible.

China has worked in a consistent, active and responsible manner to advance the peace process in the Sudan, devoting great attention to finding an appropriate solution to the problems of Darfur. We have often pointed out to the Sudan that the only objective of the United Nations in taking over the task of AMIS is to help the Sudan implement the Darfur Peace Agreement. That is also the broad consensus of the international community. We hope that the Government of the Sudan will proceed from the perspective of its long-term development and take a flexible approach.

At the same time, we consider that the Security Council should respect the views of the national Government in question and that no United Nations peacekeeping operation should be imposed. Moreover, we must pay heed to the influence and the roles of the relevant regional organizations. We believe that if all the parties take a frank and pragmatic approach, enhance mutual trust and cooperation and broaden their perspective, we will certainly be able to achieve an outcome that is satisfactory to everyone.

As this meeting is being held on the fifth anniversary of 11 September 2001, the Chinese delegation would like to express its sympathy to the United States Mission and to the Government and the people of the United States.

**Mr. Mahiga** (United Republic of Tanzania): We congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and thank you for convening this meeting on Darfur. Once again, we express our gratitude to the delegation of Ghana for its presidency last month.

We are delighted to have the Secretary-General among us for this important debate on the situation in Darfur and on the implementation of resolution 1706 (2006), which the Security Council adopted on 31 August 2006. We thank him for his sobering statement on the situation in Darfur. We also thank the representatives of the Sudan, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference for their statements, which cast a ray of hope with respect to the Sudan and the international community addressing the crisis in Darfur.

The situation in Darfur is at a crossroads and needs urgent, decisive initiatives to advance the implementation of the stalled Darfur Peace Agreement. The humanitarian situation on the ground is deteriorating further, access is restricted and the security situation of humanitarian workers is getting riskier by the day. The political situation is at a stalemate, as there is no progress in persuading the non-parties to sign up to the Agreement; instead, they have become more fractured and belligerent. Tension is building between the Government and the armed groups as the Government is deploying a massive military force to strike at the rebels at any time. We heard this morning that aerial attacks have actually been carried out in response to attacks from the rebels. A situation of dangerous escalation is again developing and should be contained.

In our view, a military solution to the current situation can only add to the misery and suffering of the people and complicate the already fragile political and security situation in Darfur. It was the failure of a military approach to the Darfur crisis that necessitated the N'Djamena Ceasefire Agreement and, subsequently, the peace process in Abuja. The Sudan should know better the futility of military approaches to political problems after the longest civil war in Africa, in southern Sudan. Sudan has actually taught us and demonstrated to us the value and virtue of negotiated peaceful solutions to protracted political crises with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement negotiated at Naivasha and Nairobi.

The deadline for the African peacekeeping mission is drawing near. Resources to keep the force there are drying up. The Sudanese Government has signalled that the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) can leave when its mandate expires later this month. That is a most frightening scenario. Never before has the international community abandoned a humanitarian and political crisis on the scale of what exists in Darfur. We cannot leave the people of Darfur alone. The situation demands international action with the full participation of the Sudan.

We have before us resolution 1706 (2006), which has been rejected by the Sudan because of a perceived

mistrust of the presence of a United Nations force in Darfur to implement the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA). We are intrigued by that argument, because the presence of the United Nations in Darfur is not going to be any different from the Organization's presence in southern Sudan, except in size and composition. There is an urgent need, at this hour, for the African Union and the United Nations to re-engage the Government of the Sudan in exploring mutually reassuring approaches to implement the Council's resolution.

Tanzania has full trust in the ability and resourcefulness of the Secretary-General to find ways to break the impasse. It would be helpful to initiate urgent consultations with the Government of the Sudan and the African Union, together with the other stakeholders and facilitators who were involved in the negotiations leading up to the Abuja Agreement, on how to find creative and acceptable ways to implement the Agreement. We were gratified to hear this morning from the representative of the Sudan that the Government of the Sudan is open to consultation and dialogue with the United Nations on the need to implement the Darfur peace process.

In the meantime, an urgent initiative should be undertaken to extend the mandate of the African Union and to mobilize the resources needed to cover the cost of the African Union Mission in the Sudan between the end of September and the end of the year. Depending upon the outcome of the political consultations we have just suggested, the United Nations should continue to put in place the basic logistical requirements for what would be an acceptable multinational force to go to Darfur on terms agreeable to the Sudan, but under the auspices of the United Nations.

We hope those ideas will contribute to finding a way out of the current political impasse and the deteriorating security situation.

Let me also add my voice in extending condolences to the people and the Government of the United States on the fifth anniversary of the bombing of the Twin Towers, and in recalling the dangers posed by international terrorism.

**Mr Churkin** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The difficult situation that continues to prevail in Darfur, as well as in the process of settling that situation, continues to give rise to legitimate concerns among the members of the Security Council and the entire international community, primarily as regards further exacerbation of the humanitarian situation and a new outbreak of violence. Recent events have shown that the Sudanese leadership has adopted a policy of independently seeking a solution to the problem of Darfur without the involvement of United Nations peacekeepers in that process. Let me be frank: we do not agree with that position.

The decisions of the Security Council and the African Union must be implemented. The use of force to stabilize the situation in Darfur will lead to an impasse. The Russian Federation has always believed that any Security Council decision pertaining to peacekeeping must take into account the views of the host Government. Unfortunately, the hastily adopted resolution 1706 (2006) — which was adopted without ongoing consultations with the Government of the Sudan and on which Russia abstained while supporting it in substance — has led to a counter-productive heightening of emotions.

Russia has adopted a position of principle with regard to the desirability of employing United Nations forces and resources in Darfur in order to achieve lasting peace there. It must be done on the basis of cooperation with the leadership of the Sudan and in close consultation with the African Union, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Such cooperation must be based on the Secretary-General's proposal, namely, a gradual approach to involving the United Nations in the affairs of Darfur, the basic elements of which are the speedy and substantial reinforcement of the African Union Mission in the Sudan and its eventual transfer to United Nations leadership.

Today's meeting provides an opportunity for first-hand assessments. We welcome the overall positive attitude of the leadership of the African Union. We hope that the Government of the Sudan will establish full-scale cooperation with the African Union and its Mission in Darfur. Despite the well-known problems of which we are aware, it is playing an important stabilizing role there. It is also one of the guarantors preventing the resumption of large-scale bloodshed. In that regard, we believe it would be desirable to bring about the extension of the mandate of the African Union Mission to the end of the year.

We are convinced that there are still real chances to continue the search for a peaceful resolution to the

problem of Darfur. The Security Council must continue to lend political support to efforts in that regard; it should use its authority to strengthen the dialogue among the African Union, the United Nations and the Sudanese leadership. There is no alternative to continuing that dialogue and bringing it to a successful outcome. Russia will continue to do everything it can to make progress in that regard, including through contacts with the Sudan.

In conclusion, I too would like, on this anniversary of the terrorist attack against New York, to express my solidarity and support to the delegation of the United States to the United Nations, as well as to the entire American people.

**Mr. Burian** (Slovakia): We too would like to thank the Secretary-General for his briefing on the situation in Darfur.

The observations we have heard today and the disturbing news we receive from Darfur every day confirm that the situation in Darfur has continued to deteriorate since the adoption of resolution 1706 (2006). We have witnessed another wave of attacks on civilians, humanitarian workers and United Nations and African Union (AU) personnel. Looting and gender-based violence have also been on the rise, increasing the suffering of the people of Darfur and threatening another round of massive displacements.

We agree with the Secretary-General that the situation of civilians in Darfur is desperate and that there is an urgent need for immediate action by the international community to stop the violence and alleviate the suffering of the increasing number of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) to whom there is no humanitarian access.

When the Security Council visited IDP and refugee camps in Darfur and eastern Chad we witnessed the inhumane conditions in which refugees and IDPs were living and we heard horrific stories about their suffering. The people of Darfur desperately urged us to help them to end their plight. The international community is obliged to do this without further delay.

We believe that resolution 1706 (2006) provides a good basis for action by the international community to protect civilians on the ground and to facilitate the implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement. The African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) must urgently be strengthened. We also need to immediately start the preparations for the transfer to a United Nations-led operation, which will have a robust mandate, as envisaged in resolution 1706 (2006).

However, we are very concerned about the reaction of the Sudanese Government as regards resolution 1706 (2006), as well as about its statements threatening to eject African Union peacekeepers. We believe that the absence of AU forces would lead to the further deterioration of the security situation and to the escalation of the conflict in Darfur. In that regard, we agree with the Secretary-General that if there is no AU or United Nations presence and if the number of people suffering or being killed continues to grow, the Sudanese authorities will be placing themselves in a situation where the leadership may be held collectively and individually responsible for what happens to the population in Darfur.

The Government of the Sudan should understand that a United Nations-led operation in support of the effective implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement is the only viable option for reaching lasting and sustainable peace in Darfur. It should also understand, based on previous experience in dealing with the crisis situation in the South of Sudan, that the United Nations is not an invading or occupying force, but an impartial broker that is there to help the Sudanese people solve the conflict and to assist the Government in exercising its responsibility to protect all its citizens.

The United Nations has always respected the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its Members. It has, however, a responsibility, which was confirmed by our leaders in last year's world summit outcome document, to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. We must not allow another Rwanda or Srebrenica, where the international community watched helplessly while innocent civilians were slaughtered, to happen again.

In that regard, we are also very much disturbed by the recent steps of the Government of the Sudan to pursue a military solution in Darfur, which is in violation not only of the Darfur Peace Agreement, but also of the Security Council's resolutions. We believe that the Darfur Peace Agreement is the best tool for advancing the peace process and for addressing the root causes of the conflict in Darfur. However, it

should not become a pretext for military action against those who have reservations against it or those who refused to sign it. The years of protracted conflict in Darfur have proved that there is no military solution to the crisis there. We therefore urge the Government of the Sudan to immediately stop its military campaign and engage in a political dialogue with the non-signatories.

In conclusion, we would like to call on the Government of the Sudan to start complying with resolution 1706 (2006) and to engage in a constructive discussion with the United Nations on its speedy implementation, avoiding further escalation of the conflict and the destabilization of the whole region. In that regard, we regret that the representatives of the Sudanese Government missed yet another opportunity to have a meaningful discussion today with the Security Council on the ways to resolve the crisis in Darfur, with the United Nations support and assistance offered in resolution 1706 (2006).

Finally, we hope that the whole international community, and especially such regional organizations as the League of Arab States, the African Union and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, of which the Sudan is a member, will use their influence and bilateral political dialogue to convince the Government of the Sudan that an active United Nations assistance and engagement in the peace process in Darfur is in the best interests of all Sudanese people.

**Mr. García Moritán** (Argentina): We thank you, Sir, for convening this meeting, Sir, on the conflict in Darfur, which, unfortunately, is overshadowed by deeply concerning circumstances.

We also recognize the participation of the representative of the Sudan. We welcome him to our meeting and rejoice that his Government has finally responded positively to our invitation.

Finally, we thank the representatives of the African Union, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference for their participation and statements at this meeting and for the unwavering interest they have demonstrated in the search of a solution to this crisis, which we believe has gone on too long.

Only a few hours after the adoption of resolution 1706 (2006), which Argentina cosponsored, the Government of the Sudan again rejected the United Nations operation in Darfur with familiar arguments and continued putting into effect its plan of action, with particular emphasis on the military and security chapter. The news from Darfur is very alarming, including new waves of attacks against the civilian population, humanitarian workers and even members of the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS). Together with the renewed violence and suffering, there are indications that call into question the presence of AMIS after the expiration of its mandate on 30 September.

As my delegation has already indicated on previous occasions, the objective of this Council and of the United Nations as a whole in getting involved in the situation in Darfur is clear — we want to work with the Government of the Sudan and join efforts to assist in the implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement and in the protection of the civil population of the region. We urge the Government of the Sudan and all the Sudanese to understand that this is the aim we are pursuing.

Argentina wants the Government in Khartoum to understand that, along with the responsibility of each individual State to protect its own population, the international community has a responsibility to help States exercise that obligation. In the context of the crisis in Darfur, the only way to protect its civil population is through the presence of peacekeeping troops in the region — neutral and impartial troops that would neither constitute an occupation force nor limit the sovereignty or the territorial integrity of the Sudan. In other words, we are trying to protect the lives and security of millions of innocent civilians, since the Government of the Sudan cannot do so.

Allow me to be clear here. There is no such thing as a military solution to the conflict. As this Council has already repeatedly stated, the solution must be found through peaceful means in the framework of the Darfur Peace Agreement. Only in total respect for this Council's resolutions, the decisions of the African Union and the Darfur Peace Agreement can we achieve those objectives.

Therefore, we fully support the adopted approach of immediately reinforcing AMIS, and at a later stage — no later than 31 December, as established in the resolution — the assumption by this Organization of AMIS' responsibility. Without a doubt, we need the Sudan to agree and cooperate with that approach;

without its agreement, it would be very difficult, not to say impossible, to fulfil the proposed objectives. It is also necessary for the international organizations most directly involved to collaborate with their efforts in the same regard.

We cannot and must not remain paralyzed in the face of a situation that calls for immediate action. Every passing day means more lives lost and greater suffering for a people who have already suffered too much. It is necessary to renew our commitment to finding a solution to the crisis if we do not want to continue to see the constant and persistent violation of human rights on a scale that the international community cannot tolerate without taking action to put an end to it. We urge all actors present here to cooperate in a constructive spirit in order collectively to put an end to the crisis in Darfur and to help establish the basis of a more just society in which all the Sudanese can live in freedom and peace.

In conclusion, my delegation offers the people of the United States our condolences on this fifth anniversary of the terrible terrorist attack on this city in 2001.

**Mr. De La Sablière** (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank you, Sir, for convening this debate, in accordance with the wish expressed by the Council last month.

I also thank the Secretary-General for his participation in this meeting, and in particular for his enlightening statement early in the debate.

Allow me first to recall the importance that my delegation attaches to the Abuja Agreement, the conclusion of which was welcomed unanimously by our Council and the entire international community, which indicated their readiness to contribute to its implementation. The Abuja Agreement remains our common reference point and the direction towards which all efforts should be directed with a view to restoring peace and stability in Darfur. It is therefore now more desirable than ever that the movements that have not yet signed the Agreement rally to it, and that all the people of Darfur be brought in so they can discuss their common problems together.

My delegation is therefore particularly concerned about the fact that the military option is still being pursued by some rebel movements that have not signed the Abuja Agreement, and about indications that that Sudanese authorities are preparing to relaunch military operations. Such options, as Council members have already stressed, cannot restore peace and stability to Darfur today any more than they could in the past. They will only further prolong the terrible suffering that the population has endured since the beginning of the conflict more than three years ago. In contravening Council resolutions, decisions taken by the African Union Peace and Security Council and the Abuja Agreement they can only thwart the major efforts that the United Nations is prepared to make to restore peace to Darfur.

Resolution 1706 (2006) is a continuation of earlier efforts by the Security Council to support the implementation of the Abuja Agreement. In my delegation's view, the resolution was adopted for two reasons. The first reason was the deteriorating humanitarian and security situation in Darfur, which has been of great concern in recent months, as the Secretary-General has just reminded us. The worsening situation compromises the implementation of the Agreement. Several hundred thousand civilians are threatened by the intensification of the fighting and the worsening of conditions for humanitarian access that has been seen in recent months.

The Council cannot resign itself to the continuation of a conflict that has given rise to the most serious violations of human rights which could destabilize neighbouring countries and which are forcing millions of people to rely on international assistance for their survival.

The second reason that the Council took the decision — and I think we should remember this — was because the African Union asked it to do so. The request was made before the signing of the Abuja Agreement, and it has since been reaffirmed by several decisions taken by the African Union Peace and Security Council. The United Nations, which has steadfastly supported the political and military efforts of the African Union to restore peace to Darfur, had a duty to respond positively to that request.

The Sudan must now accept the deployment of the operation that we have decided to set up. It owes that to its population, which — as has been noted today several times — it has the responsibility to protect, if necessary with the assistance of the international community. I do not need to remind Council members that that responsibility is set out in the 2005 World

Summit Outcome document and in resolution 1674 (2006).

The Sudan owes it to the African Union and to the United Nations, whose only objective is to help to restore peace to Darfur and to provide for the effective protection of the civilian population there, while respecting its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

I believe it essential that the same language be used in communicating with the Government of National Unity of the Sudan by all Council members and by all of the regional organizations concerned. For its part, France will continue its efforts to make sure that that message — a message of responsibility, dialogue and cooperation — is fully understood by the Sudanese authorities.

I would like to conclude by recalling the consequences of the conflict for the stability of the region, including its consequences for the humanitarian situation across the border as seen in the situation in the camps in Chad. Resolution 1706 (2006) deals with these issues, and we look forward to the Secretary-General's proposals about ways to improve the security situation in the Chad camps and the contribution that might be made by the United Nations to monitor the border area in the territory of Chad.

**Mr. Oshima** (Japan): I would like, first, to thank you, Mr. President, for having organized this debate. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his presence and for his statement on the situation in Darfur, which is, indeed, very alarming. The Japanese delegation also welcomes the participation of the representatives of the Government of the Sudan, as well as of the African Union, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the League of Arab States at this Council meeting, and thanks them for their statements. Their presence and their participation in the debate today is important as we look at the grim situation facing Darfur and consider how the international community can improve the situation there and promote the implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreements (DPA) following the adoption of resolution 1706 (2006) on 31 August.

It is disturbing that the achievement of those two common goals — improving the situation on the ground and promoting the implementation of the DPA — appears, unfortunately, to be becoming more problematic, by all accounts. The Secretary-General's statement made that abundantly clear once again. The position of the Government of the Sudan is centrally important in addressing those problems. But there are other key actors whose voices must also be heard. We therefore attach importance to today's briefings and exchanges, not least in order to promote dialogue and to arrive at a better understanding in a climate where such essential things seem sorely lacking.

The worsening security situation on the ground in Darfur and the well-documented continuing atrocities and large-scale humanitarian disaster affecting people in the millions are matters of deep concern to all of us. We are also disturbed that this deplorable situation continues to create conditions that could lead to serious consequences that threaten peace and security in the entire subregion. In the face of this harsh reality, it must be emphasized once again that the implementation of the DPA needs to be accelerated and that parties non-signatory to the accord need to be brought on board. All the efforts of the international community, including those organizations represented at this meeting, must be redoubled towards that end.

It was precisely in order to find a way out this dire situation that resolution 1706 (2006) was adopted at the end of August, after considerable consultations and exchanges involving all parties, including the African Union and the Government of the Sudan. We consider that the transition from the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) to an expanded United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) is the only realistic solution to address the situation. We see no other realistic option — certainly not a military solution.

It is clear that, in order to achieve the envisaged transition from AMIS to a United Nations peacekeeping mission, it is critically important to secure the consent and cooperation of the Government of the Sudan. As the Government of the Sudan unfortunately does not yet appear to have acknowledged that, we would like to urge it to reconsider its position, taking into account resolution 1706 (2006). At the same time, the international community must respond — as called for by the resolution — to the urgent need for prompt support for maintaining the African Union forces on the ground, as well as to the enormous humanitarian requirements.

It is also necessary to ensure that there is no security vacuum during the transition. To that end, we call for much closer cooperation between the African

Union and the United Nations. In this context, we will follow with interest the discussions of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union at its meeting to be held on 18 September.

With regard to the plan for the restoration of stability and the protection of civilians in Darfur presented to the Council by the Government of the Sudan, we listened carefully to the statement by the representative of the Sudan, and we have also taken note of the analysis and comments of the Secretary-General. As has been observed, some of the proposals are in line with the Darfur Peace Agreement. For example, we note in the plan some welcome proposals, including measures for ending violence against women and children and an information campaign for the Darfur Peace Agreement, which we expect will be elaborated further through consultations between the Government of the Sudan and the United Nations.

But on the other hand, there are other issues that can clearly not be considered compatible with the Darfur Peace Agreement. The proposed unilateral deployment of Sudanese troops to Darfur is worrying, and, as pointed out, would be in breach of past resolutions and would contravene both the letter and the spirit of the Darfur Peace Agreement.

In conclusion, Japan would like once again to urge the Government of the Sudan to exercise prudence in dealing with this matter and to reconsider its position, keeping in mind the decision of the Council in resolution 1706 (2006). Japan believes that the Council should adopt an attitude of continuing the necessary dialogue and consultations with the Government of the Sudan to that end.

Finally, on this sad anniversary day, my delegation joins other delegations in expressing our sympathy to the people of the United States and our solidarity with them in fighting terrorism.

**Mr. Christian** (Ghana): I wish to commend you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting on the situation in Darfur. The Ghana delegation wishes to thank Mr. Kofi Annan, the Secretary-General, for his presence and for the statement that he delivered at this meeting. We also join other delegations in remembering the several thousand people who perished on 11 September 2001, and we share with the Government and the people of the United States their grief and sadness on this occasion.

We take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the presence of the representatives of the African Union, the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Government of National Unity of the Republic of the Sudan. We trust that their participation in today's meeting will bring new dynamism into the peace process and will further strengthen the resolve of the international community to seek a comprehensive, peaceful and speedy resolution of the crisis in Darfur, in accordance with the Darfur Peace Agreement of 5 May 2006 and relevant Security Council resolutions.

In that connection, we wish to stress the goodwill and spirit of international partnership that underlie resolution 1706 (2006), and we call for the timely and full implementation of that resolution in order to alleviate the suffering of the people of Darfur. In view of the volatile situation on the ground, only the expansion of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan into Darfur can best guarantee the safety of the millions of displaced Sudanese and preserve the sovereignty, unity and stability of the country for the benefit of all its citizens.

We further express our full confidence and trust in the assurances that have been repeatedly given to the Sudanese Government, that the proposed deployment of a United Nations mission in Darfur is a humanitarian mission and a call to partnership, not confrontation. We therefore urge the Government to open the doors of Darfur to the existing United Nations Mission in the Sudan so that together we can halt the chaos and death and create real opportunities for a better life for all of the Sudanese people.

**Mr. Al-Bader** (Qatar) (*spoke in Arabic*): My delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his report on Darfur (S/2006/591 and S/2006/591/Add.1). The period covered by the report has seen significant developments — some of them positive — that should be taken into account by the Security Council. These include, in particular, the Darfur Peace Agreement and the renewal of diplomatic relations between the Sudan and Chad. Legal and judicial measures have been taken by the Government of the Sudan to prosecute those who have committed crimes against humanity. Decisions have also been taken with respect to power-sharing, wealth-sharing, and violations of human rights. Yet, although the Darfur Peace Agreement was signed by the Sudanese Government and was welcomed by the international community, some

parties have refused to sign it. Because of those factions, violence has resumed, especially in the north, on the borders with Chad. That poses a threat to peace and security, as well as to the future of the Agreement. It is also an obstacle to the provision of humanitarian assistance by international organizations and non-governmental organizations. All of this constitutes a threat to peace and security in Darfur and throughout the region.

It seems clear to us that the true obstacle to lasting peace comes from the activities of those factions which refuse to sign the Darfur Peace Agreement and reject it. From the very outset, our position has not changed; all of our statements in the Security Council on the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) demonstrate our support for that mission. AMIS has done excellent work; this reflects the concern of African Union members to find a solution to the problem of Darfur.

We reiterate that we must increase financial and logistical support to AMIS, making use of the resources of the United Nations. That request received no favourable response until the report of the Secretary-General was issued, requesting all financial and logistical support necessary for AMIS, so that it would not fail due to a lack of such support. The Security Council has been clear on that, and the General Assembly should follow up by providing that support, if we truly want to ensure peace and security in Darfur and throughout the region.

The Government of the Sudan has put forward a comprehensive plan of action for Darfur that includes many positive elements. However, the Security Council has completely ignored it and has not studied it seriously. On the contrary, the plan was ignored in resolution 1706 (2006). Once again, we call on Council members to study the plan and to reach an agreement with the Government of the Sudan on the situation in Darfur. We hope for a successful initiative that will open diplomatic channels to dialogue. We must avoid the threat of sanctions, which would undoubtedly complicate matters.

The situation prevailing in Darfur requires consultations in good faith and a determination to persuade — and to create a climate conducive to successful negotiations and true peace in Darfur.

Finally, I join those who have offered their condolences to the delegation of the United States on the fifth anniversary of the terrorist attacks of 2001.

**Ms. Tincopa** (Peru) (*spoke in Spanish*): We, too, would like to thank the Secretary-General for the information that he has provided us and to welcome the representatives of the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the African Union and the Government of the Sudan and to thank them for participating in this debate.

We would like also to thank all of those who have used their best offices to persuade the highest authorities of the Government of the Sudan to accept a handover from the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) to a United Nations peace operation.

We regret that the Government of the Sudan is resisting understanding that the objective of the peace operation in Darfur would be only to work in cooperation with its authorities to implement the peace and security agreements and to protect the population of Darfur, which has no protection at the present time.

Developments in the field show that this is urgent. Deterioration in the security conditions and restricted access to humanitarian aid mean that millions of people are at serious risk and on the verge of a humanitarian disaster.

Given the situation, we believe that the United Nations cannot ever abdicate its ethical responsibility to protect and defend human rights when Governments cannot or do not wish to protect their own peoples.

In that context, we believe that the Security Council, should, as a priority, ensure the implementation of resolution 1706 (2006), specifically to promote the effective implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement and protection of civilians. Given developments in the field, we deem it important that the Security Council, on the basis of resolution 1706 (2006), take the following urgent measures.

First, it must seek an early deployment of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) in Darfur, which means continuing dialogue with the Government of the Sudan. Today we heard the representative of the Sudan say that his Government is prepared to engage in dialogue. We hope that this state of affairs will continue.

The second step would be an immediate reinforcement of AMIS. The African Union should continue to play an important role in the area.

The third measure would be to achieve a lasting and viable ceasefire agreement, in compliance with the commitments contained in the Darfur Peace Agreement, specifically chapter III, and all previous peace agreements.

The fourth measure — perhaps the most important — concerns the humanitarian question. The international community must continue to seek appropriate means of cooperation and of securing financial support in order to protect the civilian population.

We must accept the fact that Darfur poses an enormous challenge that the Security Council has so far not been able to resolve. However, my delegation hopes that, with the support of the Government of the Sudan, regional organizations and the international community, we will be able to bring about peace and stability to Darfur, on the basis of a political approach and through dialogue.

In that context, we support several elements of the assessment of the Secretary-General with regard to the plan presented by the Sudan for Darfur.

Finally, my delegation, too, would like to convey to the people and the Government of the United States our solidarity on this anniversary date and our continuing support in the fight against terrorism.

**Ms. Løj** (Denmark): Yet again, we have heard a deeply disturbing account of the security and humanitarian situation in Darfur. All indicators point towards a sharp downward spiral and a looming manmade humanitarian catastrophe.

In order to prevent this from happening, there is a vital need to, first, achieve immediately improved security and humanitarian access, and, secondly, work persistently towards sustained security in order for the people of Darfur to gradually return to normal life. In essence, this is an issue of how to attain drastically improved security in Darfur in the short and medium term.

Twelve days ago, the Council adopted resolution 1706 (2006) authorizing a United Nations peace support operation in Darfur and immediate support to a strengthening of the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS). Denmark co-sponsored the resolution, as we are strongly in favour of all its elements. We deeply regret Khartoum's immediate reactions to resolution 1706 (2006) as they have been reported to us.

The international community — and indeed the Council — have shown exceptional patience with the Government of the Sudan. We have pursued dialogue, travelled to the Sudan, invited the Government to our meetings, and, not least, provided assurances that any Government having good intentions for its citizens should readily be able to accept. Still, we are faced with Government rejection and uncertainty for the people of Darfur beyond 30 September.

We must spare no effort to prevent yet another genocide from taking place on the African continent. The horrors of Rwanda still haunt our minds and can only serve to strengthen our resolve. The moral credibility of the Security Council is indeed challenged by this extended crisis.

Through bilateral contacts with key partners in Africa and beyond, and together with our partners in the European Union, we have stepped up efforts to convince the Government of the Sudan that there is no viable alternative to a United Nations mission in Darfur. We must ensure that all obstacles are removed and that the objectives of a robust peace support operation in Darfur — as set out in resolution 1706 (2006) — are achieved.

All channels of dialogue with Khartoum — direct and indirect — must be kept open and used to their fullest. This can very soon become a race against time. If agreement is not achieved within the next few weeks, we will all — including the Government of the Sudan — be left with only a few not very attractive options.

Friends of the Government of the Sudan have over the past couple of weeks voiced support for the position that the people of Darfur are best served by a continuation of AMIS alongside the implementation of the Government's own plan of "stability and protection" in Darfur. We beg to disagree. Facts on the ground speak their own language, and, in the words of Mr. Egeland, who spoke before the Council two weeks ago, we are

"at a point where even hope may escape us and the lives of hundreds of thousands could be needlessly lost".

Let me put it simply: True friends will assist the Government — any Government — in fulfilling its most important purpose: to protect its own citizens from starvation, violence and death, regardless of ethnicity, cultural differences or religion.

It has been said many times over that there is no military solution to the crisis in Darfur, only a political one. The non-signatories to the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) — and their supporters on the ground — cannot be wiped out through military action. One important lesson learned from 20 years of conflict between the north and the south is that the Government has to engage with its adversaries. The non-signatories to the DPA are still part of the N'Djamena ceasefire agreements and should as such be included in the ceasefire monitoring mechanisms. A political process to address the concerns of non-signatories and to get them to participate in the Darfur Peace Agreement must be re-established, supported and maintained. At the moment, both sides appear entirely focused on military solutions. Through outside encouragement and pressure, all parties must show more flexibility and remain open to compromises.

As an avid supporter of international justice and the rule of law, Denmark firmly believes that all those responsible must and will be held accountable. The instrument of sanctions is still on the table, as underscored in resolution 1706 (2006). In our view, if the Sudanese Government presses on with its current plans in Darfur, broader political and economic sanctions should not be ruled out.

While sanctions are intended to encourage and push for wise political decisions that will respect and implement Security Council decisions, it should never be forgotten that, ultimately, accountability is also an aspect of this crisis. By adopting resolution 1593 (2005) and referring the situation in Darfur to the International Criminal Court, the Council has already shown that it will not accept impunity for serious crimes against humanity. Again, we must show that we have learned our lessons from Rwanda and that those responsible for the continuation of this crisis will eventually have to face the consequences of their actions.

A week from today, the African Union Peace and Security Council will meet here in New York to take a definite decision on the mandate of AMIS. AMIS has done a commendable job, and the African Union demonstrated leadership and readiness to apply pressure on peers when it concluded the Abuja talks. The decision to be taken next Monday is difficult and will require the same kind of leadership by the African Union.

By adopting resolution 1706 (2006), the Security Council provided a concrete basis on which AMIS would be transferred to the United Nations. Denmark firmly believes that a robust United Nations force in Darfur is a prerequisite for keeping the Darfur Peace Agreement alive. Furthermore, failure to keep the DPA alive would not only put the Comprehensive Peace Agreement at risk, but also have grave regional repercussions — a scenario that is certainly not in the interests of anyone.

To conclude, let me also express, on behalf of the Government of Denmark, my condolences to the United States and to the American people on the horrendous terrorist attacks that took place in the United States five years ago today.

**The President**: I shall now make a statement in my national capacity.

I wish to express my sincere thanks for the kind words addressed to me and to my fellow members of the Greek delegation by other Council members.

Many thanks to the Secretary-General for the statement he made earlier, which accurately depicts the critical situation in Darfur. Today's discussion has once again highlighted the need for the Security Council to act immediately to avert an unprecedented humanitarian crisis with potential spillover effects on the whole region. I welcome the participation of the African Union (AU), the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC).

During the past few weeks, we have been witnessing the serious deterioration of both the humanitarian situation and the security situation. On the one hand, the Government of the Sudan is building up its military forces for a possible wider offensive. As we have stated on other occasions in the Council, any attempt to implement the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) by force will inevitably aggravate the situation. On the other hand, the non-signatories of the DPA

appear determined to seek a military showdown with the Government. It is therefore no surprise that the political process has stalled and that no serious political dialogue is taking place between the two sides.

The situation just described, compounded by the already dire humanitarian situation, has brought Darfur to the brink of total collapse, touching what some have called the Rwanda threshold. Tellingly, during the past few weeks, the number of gross violations of human rights, including rapes, has risen to emergency levels. The number of internally displaced persons has risen by 50,000, while humanitarian access has been severely restricted owing to the fact that humanitarian workers are targeted; in July alone, nine humanitarian workers were killed.

The members of the Security Council stand united in believing that that situation is unacceptable and that it must be urgently addressed. The response by the Council, but also by the international community as a whole, should involve persuading Khartoum to accept a United Nations deployment, reviving the African Union Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) and applying pressure on the non-signatories to participate in the DPA.

Eleven days ago, the Council adopted resolution 1706 (2006), which provides for the expansion of the mandate of the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) to Darfur. Regrettably, the Government of the Sudan has not accepted the resolution and continues to publicly oppose it. The ongoing diplomatic efforts should continue and intensify so that the Government of the Sudan is persuaded to reverse its decision. In that respect, consultations with other stakeholders, such as the AU, the Arab League and the OIC, are also particularly important.

The main objective of resolution 1706 (2006) is to protect civilians in Darfur and to assist the people of Sudan in implementing the DPA, thus contributing to the restoration of peace and national reconciliation in the country. Therefore, any fears as to the real objectives of the resolution are unfounded and should be dispelled. In addition, the presence and the reinforcement of AMIS are of the utmost importance, not only to address the present crisis, but also to prepare for a United Nations deployment in January 2007. In that context, we look forward to the decisions to be taken by the AU Peace and Security Council on 18 September here in New York.

Finally, in the coming weeks, efforts should be made to persuade the non-signatories to get on board and sign the DPA. The DPA, despite its shortcomings, is the only agreement on the table that includes the vital components for a long-term solution of the Darfur crisis. It must therefore be implemented in its entirety, not selectively.

We believe that the Council must intensify its efforts to resolve the present crisis and use all the tools at its disposal, including the mechanism provided for in resolution 1591 (2005). At the same time, all members with influence should spare no effort to bring about a solution, which should be directed primarily at saving lives and ensuring the necessary humanitarian access to those in need.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*

United Nations S/PV.5521

# Security Council

Sixty-first year

*Provisional*

**5521**st meeting

Tuesday, 12 September 2006, 12.25 p.m.

New York

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|---|---|---|
| *President:* | Mrs. Papadopoulou | (Greece) |
| *Members:* | Argentina | Mr. García Moritán |
| | China | Mr. Li Kexin |
| | Congo | Mr. Gayama |
| | Denmark | Mr. Faaborg-Andersen |
| | France | Mr. De Rivière |
| | Ghana | Mr. Christian |
| | Japan | Mr. Shinyo |
| | Peru | Mr. Gallardo |
| | Qatar | Mr. Al-Sulaiti |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Dolgov |
| | Slovakia | Mr. Burian |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Mr. Johnston |
| | United Republic of Tanzania | Mr. Mahiga |
| | United States of America | Ms. Wolcott Sanders |

## Agenda

The situation in Afghanistan

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

06-51794 (E)

*The meeting was called to order at 12.25 p.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation in Afghanistan**

**The President**: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Afghanistan in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration of the item, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Farhâdi (Afghanistan) took a seat at the Council table.*

**The President**: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2006/723, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I wish to draw the attention of members to document S/2006/725, containing the text of a letter dated 11 September 2006 from Afghanistan addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:*

Argentina, China, Congo, Denmark, France, Ghana, Greece, Japan, Peru, Qatar, Russian Federation, Slovakia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America.

**The President**: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1707 (2006).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

*The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.*